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New Republic

EISENHOWER

CAN HE REMAKE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?

by Wilfred Binkley

CAN HE WRITE A NEW FOREIGN POLICY?

An Editorial

Essays and Reviews . . .

THE NEW VATICAN INDEX by PERCY WINNER

COCCIOLI'S *HEAVEN AND EARTH*, by S. M. FITZGERALD

AUG 21 1952

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Letters

GOP Platform—Fact and Fiction

● The Republican Party of today, said Governor Stevenson, represents a hopeless case of political schizophrenia. Nothing illustrates the validity of this assertion more clearly than Sen. Wayne Morse's article of August 4, "The GOP Platform: A Republican Views His Party's Stand." Most readers of this journal will agree with the sincerely liberal Republican Senator in his conclusion: the Republican platform is weasel-worded and should be clarified (i. e. liberalized) by the candidate. His hopes that a liberal Republican Party will be engendered thereby are, however, predestined to frustration. For the Republican platform is, if anything, *more* liberal than the prevailing tenor of party opinion as indicated by the voting record of the Republican members of Congress over the past several years. A comparison of the party platform with the party record reveals the dichotomy.

Foreign Policy. Platform: "In Western Europe we shall . . . encourage and aid the development of collective-security forces." Record: Heavy Republican support in Congress for cutting Mutual Security funds over $1 billion.

Platform: A call for "adequate support for the United States armed forces." Record: Over 90 percent of the House Republicans tried to limit defense spending next year to $46 billion.

Platform: Support of the Point Four program of aid to underdeveloped countries. Record: In 1950 three-fourths of the Republican Senators voted against its start.

Platform: A pledge to give the Voice of America "a real function." Record: Last year 70 percent of the House Republicans tried to slash its funds from $85 million a year to $70 million.

Platform. "We shall not allow ourselves to be isolated and economically strangled." Record: Consistent attempts by a majority of Republican Senators to scuttle the reciprocal tariff reduction program.

Civil Rights. Platform: "We will prove our good faith by . . . federal action toward the elimination of lynching . . . action toward the elimination of poll taxes . . . legislation to further just and equitable treatment in the area of discriminatory employment practices." Record: Hostility by the overwhelming majority of Congressional Republicans to any form of compulsory federal legislation relating to employment practices.

Social Security. Platform: Favors expanding the coverage for old age and survivors insurance. Record: The Republican 80th Congress took 500,000 people off the social-security rolls.

Health. Platform: Conspicuous by its absence is any mention of a program of national health insurance. The platform is, however, old enough to favor "support of scientific research." Record: Over 80 percent of the Republican Senators recently voted to cut cancer research funds by $5 million, or 31 percent.

Agricultural Policy. Platform: Favors commodity loans. The record: Over half the House Republicans and nearly all the Senate Republicans voted against a $2 billion increase in Commodity Credit Corporation borrowing authority in 1951.

Platform: Supports crop insurance. Record: In both 1951 and 1952 amendments to cut funds for crop-insurance administration were supported by majorities.

Platform: Advocates "an expanded soil-conservation program." Record: Four out of five of the Republican Senators voted to cut soil-conservation funds from $280 million to $150 million this year.

Business Regulation. Platform: Pledges "equal enforcement of the anti-monopoly and unfair competition statutes." Record: In the 80th Congress, over 90 percent of the Senate Republicans voted to kill a $1 million appropriation for the Federal Trade Commission to enforce monopoly regulation. And the same Republican Congress voted overwhelmingly in favor of the Bulwinkle bill which exempted the railroads from anti-trust regulation.

Inflation. Platform: Favors combatting inflation by "encouraging the full production of goods." Record: Continued inflation in the absence of effective direct controls. Increased output cannot be a solution to inflation because in a full-employment economy production is already at a (short-term) maximum. The "let-er-rip" philosophy of the party was shown when majorities of the Republicans in both Houses of Congress voted to weaken the control provisions of the Defense Production Act.

These facts, then, are clear, (a) Republican policy in Congress is formulated by the Old Guard. (b) The composition of the Republican Congressional delegation is unlikely to change after the coming election. (c) The party members in Congress would set the tone for any Republican administration because, no matter how strong (or liberal) the President, Congress controls the purse-strings. Senator Morse's attempt to mold the party a little closer to his heart's desire can, alas, only hold out a hopeless delusion to the independent voter. Senator Morse should bolt his party to support the Democratic ticket.

Norman, Okla. ROBERT B. LOOPER

Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

● Your short article purporting to describe my activities in connection with the Democratic Party and its civil-rights planks makes two serious errors; it misstates my position (bad journalism), and dogmatically describes the Democratic plank as "far stronger" than the Republican on, when to say the least this assertion is open to question (bad liberalism): (a) I have *not* "threatened to lead a Negro movement to bolt the Democratic Party." Ever since the Convention I have been urging Negro voters to register and vote in greater numbers than ever before. I have been emphasizing local elections, on the realistic grounds that at least at the present moment Negro voters can develop little enthusiasm for the two top candidates when Stevenson has repeatedly refused to endorse federal FEPC and Sparkman has voted

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Pass the Ammunition

The government announced it will license some shipments of mechanical pencils and fountain pens to Hong Kong for the first time since early 1951. (Only small shipments of swords are permitted, a Commerce Department official said, and then only after a double-check to see that they won't fall into Communist hands.) — *From the Washington City News Service ticker.*

Watch Your Language!

Nixon gave [as] reasons why he feels Eisenhower will give America the kind of leadership it needs:

He's a real down-to-earth honest-to-goodness American.

He uses no polished phrase-making in his speech—"just plain English." . . . — *From The Washington* Post.

Tarnished Gold

Mr. Kashani also expressed some doubts about a two-percent tax on land and real estate, which . . . Dr. Mossadegh is expected to issue under his full powers. Mr. Kashani favors a rebirth of the Moslem golden age, and the Moslem world of the golden age was an age of great estates and pious peasants. — *From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN showed notable political courage and a real appreciation of America's international role when he vetoed the Federal Tariff Commission recommendation for an increase in tariffs on Swiss watches. The pressure on the President to accept the Tariff Commission's recommendation was considerable; several states where the vote may be expected to be close in November are extremely sensitive on this issue. The industry also had an argument that many groups seeking protection do not have it; it said with considerable force that defense requirements make it mandatory to protect the watch industry. The President, however, saw that the tariff is not the proper weapon in any case.

Mr. Truman's courage on this issue puts the United States in a much better position in urging other countries to keep trade barriers at a minimum. It puts the US in a stronger position as it begins to grapple once more with a threatening crisis. Everyone in the Administration who has looked at the world economic situation knows that whoever wins in November will have to take a new look in January at the old dollar-gap problem and the general imbalance of world trade. Already the State Department is attempting to get together an over-all position paper on the problem. It is clear that the British are simply postponing their critical decisions until after the Presidential election. The Commonwealth Economic Conference is scheduled for November.

Much of the discussion over a plan to amend the Senate's filibuster rule by adopting a new set of Senate rules on the first day of the new session overlooks one important fact that is germane to the campaign discussion: The Vice-President on January 3, when the new Congress convenes, will be Alben W. Barkley, not Senator Sparkman or Senator Nixon. The new Vice-President will not take office until January 20, when the President also is inaugurated.

For the first time in 20 years, therefore, the new Congress will have to wait to hear from the President with whom it will serve. This will give President Truman an opportunity to make a final State of the Union address and to send to Congress a budget and economic report. Curiously, the budget which President Truman will submit early in January will be for the fiscal year running from July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954. A considerable amount of work on that budget already has been done in the executive departments. But the new President will want to submit supplements both to the Truman budget and to the economic report. His inaugural address will be his substitute for a State of the Union message, which he will not be called upon to give until January, 1954.

Experienced correspondents who have studied the proposal to amend the Senate rules on the opening day of the new session are extremely bearish. Senators are tradition-minded, too, and they take pride in the fact that the Senate, unlike the House which adopts new rules at the beginning of each session (John Rankin forced through the rules change establishing a permanent Un-American Activities Committee in this way), is a continuing body. Devotion to the rules has caused many Senators to refuse to vote to limit debate, whatever the provocation. The Southerners are not the only ones who want to keep the rule of unlimited debate.

The newspapers will be full of stories from now on that President Truman and Governor Stevenson are fighting. We can report that they got along beautifully at their August 12 meeting and that the President expressed the greatest confidence in Gov-

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ernor Stevenson. The President was impressed by some of the men with Stevenson, although he recognized that they are inexperienced in many respects.

While the President does not take pot-shots at the nominee, some other highly placed Democrats do. Some who have been around a long time are bitter —that is the word—because they feel they are being ignored. Just as the Taft people resented the intrusion of upstart Republicans who helped nominate Eisenhower, many Democrats resent the power given to men like Wilson Wyatt and Stephen Mitchell. Some heavy contributors to the Democratic war chest have been alienated, too, because they think that the new regime won't be as considerate of their interests as the old.

A few months ago nearly all the business economists were predicting a summer slump. Many retail merchants were moaning about the decline of sales. The textile industry was in a real slump. But prices are higher now and going higher. For how long they will continue the upward march no one knows. But we do know that Dr. Gallup is not alone among the poor prognosticators. Some of the economists who have been proved wrong were fighting for the end of price controls when they made their pessimistic business predictions. It could be that they were thinking more about the effect on Congress than the effect on their reputations as prophets.

Ellis Arnall has had more than his share of ripe tomatoes. Secretary Sawyer's is the ripest. Perhaps Arnall's dire predictions won't come true, but his is the responsibility to try to protect the public against further inflation. Yet Congress has taken away many of his powers, and the Administration has declined to give him adequate support. Now comes Sawyer with assurances that all is well. All may be well for those who profit by inflation, but there are millions of persons with relatively fixed incomes who have suffered tragically. At least Arnall has interested himself in their welfare. The fight against inflation has not yet been won.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

wrong on every civil-rights issue in the House and Senate, as well as on most labor matters and on increasing social-security coverage and minimum wage benefits. Furthermore, Sparkman's 1950 "pledge" to personally use the filibuster against civil-rights proposals now haunts the campaign, as does Stevenson's remark this past week indicating that he will not urge the Senate to adopt an anti-filibuster rule along the lines promised in the party platform. (b) That the value of the platform's civil-rights plank is at least debatable may be indicated by these comments: "Slightly to the left of the Republican plank, and a little to the right of the 1948 Democratic plank"—Clifton Utley, NBC; "sheer platitudes"—Walter Lippmann; "a watered-down plank designed to win Southern support"—*Herald-Tribune* news columns.

As supporters of Stevenson and Sparkman, you should support my activities now, which are based on the following beliefs: The ticket cannot win without the electoral votes of such states as New York, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and California. These states, for the most part, cannot be won without large pluralities in the major cities; in turn, such pluralities cannot be won without the enthusiastic support of the "minorities" and those who support their struggles. Therefore, Stevenson, to win, must campaign vigorously for civil-rights proposals based not on the "floor" of the platform, but on the "ceiling" of enlightened liberalism. My efforts are directed toward helping him see the necessity for this, and are therefore calculated to help my party and nation. That I have begun to meet with success may be indicated by the fact that within the past week both Stevenson and Sparkman have asked me to meet with them to discuss what steps are necessary to develop the requisite enthusiastic support of the Negro voter.

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL JR.
Washington, D. C.

Stevenson and the Independents

● Hearty congratulations to the *New Republic.* Its unqualified endorsement of Stevenson and Sparkman is an important development in the campaign. Its candid and forceful indictment of Eisenhower should be earnestly pondered by hesitating independents and anti-Truman Democrats. There is no gainsaying the fact that Eisenhower has been slipping, losing friends, exhibiting not innocence but strange ignorance of American politics, history and economics.

Eisenhower's "crusade" is petering out, he doesn't even suspect it. Just what is he about to fight, and whom is he going to fight? He says peace is the overriding issue, and that is true. But what are the implications of that central thesis? Is he prepared to open negotiations with the Kremlin, and if not, what *is* his way to peace and security? We must save billions annually, he declares; true again, but how, where and when?

Stevenson, too, is for peace and security. His way to peace is yet to be indicated, and we hope it will be the sound, the right way—the way independents and anti-Truman Democrats will welcome and support. Stevenson is not platitudinous, nor is he fond of doubletalk. Let us have his ideas of the way of world peace and world security. The intelligent voters are anxious to have these.

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS

Democratic National Convention

● In your issue describing the course of the Democratic National Convention (*NR*, August 4), you referred to Frank J. Lausche, Ohio's Governor, as an uncommitted "machine" man at the start of the convention.

Whatever Governor Lausche's commitments, an assiduous search of the state would fail to uncover a Lausche "machine." He did not attend the convention.

You state also that among the uncommitted to the candidacy of Adlai Stevenson was Michael V. Di Salle of Toledo, Democratic candidate for the junior Senatorship from this state.

Ever since he resigned in February as price stabilizer, Mr. Di Salle, to my certain knowledge, has been firmly behind Governor Stevenson. In fact, he was among those instrumental in obtaining the retirement of Ohio's favorite son, Robert J. Bulkley, Cleveland, so that Stevenson strength could be shown in Ohio on the first ballot.

Toledo, Ohio WINSTON CRAM

The Last Voice

● I wish to express my sincere congratulations to the people who publish the *New Republic.* It is practically the last voice of free, liberal thought left in this country. The recent article "Socialized Advertising," by Norman Thomas, was excellent and in keeping with the seriousness of the present struggle to control the thoughts of mankind.

Frankfort, Ky. WILBUR L. JENKINS

An Avid Reader

● I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of your magazine, and although I have only recently become a subscriber, I have been an avid reader since 1946, as the local US Information Library can well testify.

Sydney, Australia GEOFFREY BOOTH

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New Republic

DON'T LET THEM TAKE HIM AWAY!

GENERAL EISENHOWER declares that world peace is the overshadowing issue of 1952. His purpose is to provide "a fresh new approach to the whole problem based on new analysis and new study."

We applaud that purpose. We hope that Eisenhower will outline his fresh new approach during the campaign instead of asking the voters to take him on faith. For the voters will question, first, how far a fresh new approach is possible, and second, whether the Republican Party is capable of providing a new approach.

Eisenhower must base his fresh new approach on assumptions concerning Soviet power and intentions. The assumptions he arrives at, after new study, are almost certain to be those that have guided the Administration for the last four years.

These assumptions are that Soviet Communism is an unworkable system, ruled by a self-perpetuating bureaucracy that requires world conflict in order to justify its repressive controls and seeks world domination, if possible without world war. The assumptions are further that Soviet power is overextended in reaching from the Elbe to the China Sea, because the Soviet bureaucracy is not content with allies but demands slaves. From this it follows that a realizable objective over the next 10 years may be the withdrawal of the Red armies to the Soviet borders.

However, this objective is likely to come about, not by agreements or even pressures from outside, but by conditions within the Soviet system. The Soviet rulers have shown themselves to be almost immune from outside influences. For this reason the prospect is poor for direct negotiations which a President of Eisenhower's stature might undertake. If, as seems possible, the main international event during the next Presidency should be Stalin's death, the prospects for negotiation may improve. But they may also worsen as power is diffused and the arbitrary nature of the bureaucracy Stalin has built up acts without regard to the needs and hopes of the Russian people.

For this reason there are real limits to a fresh new approach. Whatever its party label, the next administration is bound to carry on the main policies initiated by Truman in keeping a door open to negotiation and strengthening the non-Communist world. If Eisenhower is frank, he will have to concede this much.

Within this broad frame, there is room for fair criticism of Administration policies, followed by constructive reforms. But once these policies are submitted to "new analysis and new study," it will become plain that the Republican Party is the least prepared to provide the needed new approach!

The Administration has been too weak and intimidated to seek broad-gauge negotiations with Russia and China. But the Republican Party condemns all negotiation as "appeasement" destroying what hope exists!

The Administration has allowed the military to dictate political policies to the civilians of the State Department and the National Security Resources Board. But General Eisenhower is hardly the man to restore civilian control!

The Administration has permitted US aid to reinforce high-price, low-production, class-ridden, cartellized economies in Europe. But these are the systems most Republicans support!

The Administration has intervened far too often to support colonial powers against colonial peoples. But the Republican Party is still more committed to support the colonial *status quo!*

The Administration has failed to promote economic and social progress as the alternative to Communism. But the Republican Party is far less able to concede the economic and social basis of Communism, or to adopt progress as the answer to Communist revolution!

The Administration has permitted US aid to be frustrated by high tariffs, the Buy American Act and the provisions requiring aid to be carried in US shipping. But the Republican Party boasts in its 1952 platform that it is the party which will raise tariffs higher!

The Administration moved prematurely in seeking German rearmament. But the Republican Party clearly favored this move, as it has consistently favored military preparedness rather than economic aid!

The Administration has been unable to undertake a real Point Four program to help save Asia. But this failure is due directly to the Republican members of the House and Senate who voted overwhelmingly to slash Point Four appropriations!

The Administration has been unable to break the dead-

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lock in Asia. But the Republicans are bound by still more rigid fictions such as China's supposed love for Chiang Kai-shek!

The true weaknesses of the Administration have been due to excessive conservatism. But the only faults the Republicans will recognize are the Administration's supposed subordination to radical influences!

Even if, helped by the best of advisers, Eisenhower could arrive at a sound new approach, would a Republican Congress back him up? Voters will doubt it, looking at the record. In the light of that record of obstructionism Eisenhower cannot ask voters to take him and his party on speculation.

While Eisenhower struggles with these problems the rest of the Republican Party, including Eisenhower's own running-mate, is going another way. This group looks on constructive thinking as an obstacle to an all-out attack on "the lavender lads" and "the Red Dean." It supported Taft's view that victory required an all-out attack on every issue, regardless of the truth or the consequences abroad. Now that Taft is moribund, it seeks to reincarnate his spirit in Eisenhower's body.

Thus John Foster Dulles, following a conference with Eisenhower, asserts that "Administration blunders have brought the United States to the point where it is in the greatest peril it has ever been in the course of our national history." Richard Nixon adds that MacArthur was right in the Pacific, and that Eisenhower has assured him that he will hold the Democrats responsible for the Korean War. Eisenhower "will clean out the State Department," Nixon promises. And "he will end the Acheson foreign policy."

What more could Taft himself say?

The Republican party-line now pressed on Eisenhower begins with a distortion of history. Its official text, the Republican platform, charges that the Administration "required" Nationalist China to surrender Manchuria to Russia, and "substituted on our Pacific flank a murderous enemy for an ally and friend"; that it "flouted" our pledges and "traded our overwhelming victory for new aggressions and new wars."

All this is cynical nonsense, as Dulles, its author, well knows. The truth was restated by our leading foreign-service expert Charles Bohlen:

> The charge has been made that our failure to "get tough" at the conference table allowed Moscow to help itself to Eastern Europe, China and North Korea. I want to state categorically that this charge is absolutely without foundation.
>
> The fact is that the Soviets received nothing by negotiation that they did not already and were not about to control by the presence of the Red Army. Soviet territorial gains have not been made by words exchanged at the conference table.

The Republican party-line to which Eisenhower is now pressed to conform moves from distortion to quackery as it poses Dulles' false choice of *containment* and *liberation*. The Republican platform denounces "the defensive policy of containment." It pledges instead a "dynamic" policy of "liberation" which will make the Communist rulers "impotent to continue their monstrous ways and mark the beginning of the end." Eisenhower, echoing this approach, declares that the Administration's policy of "mere containment" is "not enough."

Who in the Administration ever said that it was?

The containment policy was developed in March, 1947, when the free nations were at their lowest point of armaments and strength. The threat then was the outward thrust of Soviet power. The task was to halt that thrust. The containment theory had its faults, but negation was not one of them. "Containment," said Bohlen, "is negative only in the sense that it does not envisage the use of armed force in aggressive action."

What, other than aggressive action, is meant by "liberation"? Dulles has set forth a few vague proposals for "action." Those that are responsible are already being carried out, as Dulles knows; those that are not being carried out are reckless or wrong. Dulles, for example, wants us to proclaim our intention of "liberating" Eastern Europe. The independence of Eastern Europe is already set forth as a US *objective* in the Yalta Agreement (which the Republicans seek to repudiate!). To go beyond this, to enter a *commitment* to liberate Eastern Europe would be fatal. For *no nation can afford to enter into commitments unless it is prepared to employ all available means to carry them out.* Russia is not going to retire from Eastern Europe at Dulles' command. *His commitment to liberate Europe can be carried out for certain by only one means—a third world war.*

Europeans know that; so they distrust Dulles as a reckless meddler. In contrast, they love Eisenhower because he has convinced them, dockworker and concierge, that his purpose is peace. Eisenhower's prestige abroad is a national asset, too precious to squander in a few weeks of campaigning. Yet it will be squandered if he adopts the Dulles policy, or if he permits all Republicans but himself to adopt it while he serves as a handsome façade to attract and deceive the independent vote.

America deserves better, and peace deserves better, than this. Long after Stevenson is elected (if as we believe he will be elected) this country will need Eisenhower. So we ask Eisenhower to hold fast to Stevenson's stand, to recognize that there are more important things in 1952 than the victory or defeat of his party.

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THE WEEK

STEVENSON ORGANIZES

The new Democratic National Chairman, Stephen A. Mitchell, has made a good start. Readily acknowledging his inexperience in political management, Mitchell's first action on taking over command of the Washington headquarters was to bulwark himself with reliable veterans. Secretary of the Interior Oscar L. Chapman, who served both Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman well as a leader of Western Democrats, was among the first to whom Mitchell turned for guidance. Having invited the Democratic chiefs of the big-city organizations in for consultation and established regular lines of communication with the White House and its occupant who is still the leader of the Democratic Party, Mitchell is now reaching out for closer contact with labor and liberal groups.

The new Chairman's task is to coordinate the activities of the regular Democratic Party organization, as represented by his own national staff and the Democratic state committees, with the present Administration in the White House and with Governor Stevenson's personal campaign staff, headed by Wilson Wyatt. Logically, Mitchell's office should become the GHQ of the 1952 campaign, and the weekend conferences at Springfield August 16-17 revealed strong physical reasons for a gradual shift toward Washington as well. The telephone, telegraph and post-office facilities of Illinois' provincial capital are strained to the breaking point. Continued lack of modern communications could sink the Stevenson operation, as his managers are beginning to realize. Removal of the campaign base to Washington is indicated.

REPUBLICAN UNITY

What Democratic Party propagandist said the Republicans were divided? Taft is invited back to the Eisenhower camp; GOP Chairman Arthur Summerfield is scheduling speeches for the General in Indiana and Wisconsin where, presumably, he will speak on behalf of Senators Jenner and McCarthy. Meanwhile Gov. Walter Kohler, an original Ike backer, has taken over McCarthy's speaking dates in Wisconsin. "I am here for McCarthy," Kohler announced at Eau Claire. "He is going to get a lot of assistance. As far as I know he has been completely endorsed. . . . " He added, "The factual foundation of many of his charges has already been demonstrated."

Perhaps the Republican Party isn't divided after all.

MEETING IN MOSCOW

The 14 Chinese Communists who arrived in Moscow with Premier Chou En-lai on August 17 offer the best indication of the nature of the talks to be held there. They include the Chinese Deputy Chief of Staff, the Commander of the Chinese Air Force, the deputy commanders of the navy and of artillery, and representatives of the ministries of heavy industry, fuel, finance and economics, machine construction and communications. They amount to a top-flight delegation, for major talks on military planning, lend-lease of military and economic equipment and some political analysis and review.

The last delegation from Peking of this importance was led by Mao himself. In December, 1949, it stayed two months, and eventually returned with a treaty signed just five months before the outbreak of the North Korean aggression. New military plans in Korea and Asia will certainly be on the agenda. So will the renewal of the 1950 treaty which was intended to run until a Japanese treaty was concluded (none has been concluded with Moscow or Peking) and not later than 1952.

The open clauses of that treaty acknowledged the Russian's control of Port Arthur and the railroad that connects it with Siberia and provided assurances in return of military co-operation in the event of a threat from Japan or Japan's allies. A new treaty to provide for further close co-operation would be useful politically for both nations today.

BEYOND HATRED WHAT?

The Moscow Radio is charging Americans in peacetime with acts as bad or worse than anything charged to Germans or Japanese in time of war.

Thus a recent *Tass* dispatch described alleged atrocities in one Korean village:

"US troops brandishing their weapons, forced all inhabitants of the district to assemble in one place. . . . The occupiers then selected from among the crowd all the young women and locked them up in empty stores. The women were later raped. They branded the women with hot irons and hot nails.

"As for the women who tried to oppose the criminals the Americans made a hole in their noses and took the women out in the streets of the villages. Many women were blinded; others had pieces of flesh cut out of their bodies. Several pregnant women were killed by having their bellies split."

These atrocities, Russians and their allies are taught, are not accidents, but the inevitable and intended results of the racist philosophy and brutalizing society of the United States. The most frightening explanation is that the bureaucracy regards war as inevitable; the kindest that higher and higher peaks of hate propaganda are required to counter the deepening apathy of the Soviet people, just as drug addicts require larger doses to produce a given effect. Americans of course will dismiss this hate line as ridiculous. We find it hard to remember that the *New Statesmans* of Europe, and the *Blitzs* of Asia have conditioned thousands of non-Communists to respond to these atrocity stories with a shrug and a "Well—who knows?"

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LABOR, ADLAI AND IKE

by Edwin A. Lahey

THE 1952 Presidential campaign is not without its note of irony.

The people behind Dwight D. Eisenhower sold him to the Republican Party at Chicago as the man who could unify the country. Many a delegate and state chairman was frightened into the belief that if Taft were nominated, the GOP would forfeit the opportunity to win the support of labor leaders who were restive and bored in their association with the Democratic Party. Eisenhower was the one man who could neutralize the attraction between the Democrats and the labor leaders.

So what happened?

The Democrats beat back their own left-wing and nominated a middle-of-the-road candidate who is probably the most conservative man to head the ticket since John W. Davis. Yet the labor movement has polarized around Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson with as much or more solidarity and enthusiasm as it ever displayed even for Roosevelt or Truman.

The most important development in the labor-political scene is the real probability that the American Federation of Labor, after years of official aloofness from national politics, will endorse Stevenson at the AFL convention which opens in New York in a few weeks.

The groundwork for this historically important move, which would destroy an old non-partisan tradition in the AFL, was laid last week at the meeting of the AFL executive council in Atlantic City. To preserve the appearance of fine impartiality, the executive council invited both nominees, Stevenson and Eisenhower, to address the coming convention, to give the delegates a chance to "evaluate" the candidates. But Eisenhower will be speaking against a high wind. Most of the leaders of the affiliated unions in the AFL are already committed to Stevenson.

While the AFL chieftains were preparing for their political bath, the CIO executive board in Washington was hopping up on the bandwagon seat and promising to raise a million dollars for the Democrats through its Political Action Committee. The CIO board's description of Stevenson had all the adjectives of a nominating speech—outstanding, resourceful, imaginative and humanitarian in the performance of good, ruthless and uncompromising in his fight against the forces of evil.

But the labor leaders know that Stevenson, despite his build-up by a lot of liberals, including the ADA, has been most unsympathetic with some of President Truman's actions, particularly in the steel strike when the President (without success) tried to prove that the government of the United States was as powerful as the six basic steel companies. In a little-noticed speech in Portland, Ore., after Truman's seizure of the steel industry. Stevenson criticized the President for not using the Taft-Hartley Act.

In his pre-convention utterances, Stevenson said that he was for revision, rather than repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. Since his nomination, however, he has taken the position that repeal of the law (as promised by the Democratic platform) is another form of revision, and that perhaps it would be healthy to remove the "political symbolism" of the title of the law.

This brings up the question—why did Eisenhower fail to cultivate some labor support? This could become the worst of many bad bobbles in the Republican camp, which is a scene of floundering confusion as the precious days recede and November 4 comes galloping down on the candidates.

Eisenhower began his political career with as many friends in the labor movement as it would be possible for a Republican to have. He was for years close to Philip Murray, the president of the CIO.

When he returned from Paris and set up headquarters in Denver, Eisenhower had some vague plans to call in some important labor leaders like Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers and Al Hayes of the Machinists, but the plans never got beyond the discussion stage.

Voices from the Denver headquarters of Eisenhower, including that of Senator Nixon, the General's running-mate, suggest indifference to the rush of organized-labor support to the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket. Nixon uses the old saw that he doesn't believe that union leaders can deliver the labor vote. But Eisenhower and Nixon had better not be indifferent to the solid drift of labor to the Democrats again in 1952. The labor vote, if it is efficiently registered and taken to the polls in November, could swing such important states as New York, California, Ohio, Michigan and Illinois into the Democratic column, which would mean certain defeat for Eisenhower. These states are at best marginal, and in some of them, particularly Illinois and Ohio, there is still enough resentment among the Taft supporters to make them easier for the Democrats to snatch if labor votes the way it now is talking.

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WHY FRANCE NEEDS DOLLARS

If the French nations had the use of the gold stored away in the private coffers of rich French individuals and business companies, the government might not have to cry financial havoc every time anything went wrong with the flow of dollars from the US. The amount of gold hoarded secretly at home and abroad is estimated at between 3,000 and 3,500 tons—a tidy sum even for a country richer than France. If it was put into circulation in the form of investments, there might be more jobs, less danger of inflation and less chance for the Communists and neutralists to exploit the permanent economic crisis.

A major purpose of the national loan floated by the Pinay government with great fanfare of publicity, high-pressure salesmanship and all sorts of presumably tempting inducements was to cajole a large part of this gold hoard out of hiding. The effort failed. Little more than about one percent of the total was turned in for bonds.

Few Frenchmen were really surprised by this lack of confidence in the government and its political and economic policies. Fewer still were shocked. Most had forseen the failure, either with fear or pleasurable anticipation, depending on the political perspective. The cynics were amused by the result, the others for the most part philosophically resigned. On the other hand, few Frenchmen (or Englishmen, for that matter) had been really optimistic about the chances of success of the decisions taken at the Lisbon NATO conference in February. Among these decisions was a "deal" on US off-shore orders to the French armament industry. They were to have made jobs which the hoarded French gold kept from being made. Yet the failure of the Pinay government to win over the Americans to its interpretation of the deal, involving some $625 million from the US to be spread over a three-year period, caused a wave of indignation and anger. The general opinion was that the US had "betrayed" France, or at least given her a cruel vote of no-confidence and there was much talk of "dire" consequences. The controversy caused more serious nastiness on both sides of the Atlantic than any of the many that had preceded it.

And if the French reaction was excessive and unreasonable, it can scarcely be denied that the Congressional cut in foreign appropriation did, in a sense, repudiate the spirit of Lisbon and did amount in a way to a vote of no-confidence in the pattern and pace of the blueprint of European defense on which both governments had been working in amity over a period of years. It was not the fault of the French that the Pentagon seems to have changed its mind about the imminence of Soviet armed aggression, putting it off to 1954-55, hence slowing down the pace of rearmament. And it remains a central fact that the French economic situation with its psychological impingement on popular support for Atlanticism needs the jobs created by the new armament industry.

Nor can the fact be escaped that, as a result of the off-shore controversy, the chances of French ratification of the European Defense Community treaty, never good, are poorer now than ever before. The bad effect of the off-shore mess was aggravated by the chaotic meeting of the six Western European ministers and by the new confidence reflected in the belligerent tone of certain West German generals, politicians and editors. Such events, said the *Monde* of Paris, "have brought much water to the mill of the Frenchmen who oppose the European arrangements [EDC] in their present form because they do not seem to give assurance that the weight of Germany will not soon dominate all of Europe."

That is of course an old story and an even older fear. What is new about the present French attitude toward the Americans is the widespread belief that Washington intends to go ahead with building up the German military and industrial potential, no matter what the French do or don't do; that the State Department no longer attaches much importance to whether or not the French National Assembly ratifies the EDC treaty; and that there is nothing the French can do to prevent the rise of Germany to dominant European power as the chosen instrument of United States policy.

Naturally, all this is taking much water from the mill of the Frenchmen who, having thought up the EDC in its original form, not only fought for it but also for its Atlanticist extension. Such Frenchmen have always believed that the defense of Europe depended on good relations with Germany and that such relations in turn depended on America's preventing subordination of France. Lack of faith in the United States among pro-US Frenchmen is a serious matter.

Some of these men, Jules Moch for example, still in the government or close to it, believe that if a pro-Atlantic government is to remain in power and not be replaced by enemies of Franco-German co-operation and false friends of Franco-US amity, they must make concessions to anti-US feeling.

The US decision on off-shore orders may be irrevocable. Yet there are ways in which the US can try to help avoid worse political and psychological trouble in France. In a country like France (or England) long-term planning of rearmament is necessary. And if the US because of Congress cannot guarantee such long-term assistance, Washington should not start undertakings, such as the one at Lisbon, and proclaim officially that faith in the US depends on them. Second, (and this is even more applicable to England than to France) the US must give the chance to the European countries to build up their industries for themselves, instead of keeping them dependent on US arms and dollars. Third, and perhaps most important in France, the US must officially help at least as much in this connection as US private business is helping West Germany.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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HISS AND STEVENSON—THE TRUTH

by Jean Begeman

ON AUGUST 7, the same day that Dwight D. Eisenhower at his Denver headquarters denounced "appeals to prejudice and bigotry" as "tactics of the Communists," Maryland Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin who had placed the General's name in nomination at the Republican convention used just such a tactic in a statement that "the deposition [Stevenson] submitted in defense of Alger Hiss after the essential facts of Hiss' disloyalty had been revealed by Whittaker Chambers . . . is a legitimate and proper point of attack on the Democratic nominee."

Governor McKeldin's attempt to dishonor Adlai Stevenson with the stigma of Hiss was misleading in several respects. It infers that Stevenson had voluntarily "submitted" a character deposition for Hiss. Actually Stevenson acted on an order of the US District Court in New York. McKeldin further implies that Hiss was known to be guilty of perjury at the time Stevenson's deposition was introduced in the court. But actually the deposition was assigned to Stevenson on June 2, 1949; Hiss was found guilty on January 22, 1950. Richard Nixon of course knows this well. He declared between convention's that "he did not believe the Hiss incident would stand in Stevenson's way." Now he states that he will study the deposition before making up his mind. But whether or not Eisenhower and Nixon will use the deposition as a campaign issue, they have sent no reprimands to less principled Republicans. Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R, Ill.), chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, named as Stevenson's "associates" Alger Hiss and "the lavender lads of the State Department." Sen. Joe McCarthy managed to rise from his sick bed on August 11 to declare that "horsemeat Adlai should get the odor of Hiss off his toga before he advises Eisenhower [to repudiate McCarthy]."

This is a dangerous game as well as a dirty one; for many leading Republicans participated in the Hiss drama. When, for example, in December, 1948, Hiss sought to resign his $20,000-a-year post as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace because of the pending charges against him, the organization's Board of Trustees in a show of confidence in Hiss tabled his letter of resignation. At that time, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles were members of the Board as well as John W. Davis, David Rockefeller, Ben M. Cherrington, Frederick A. Delano, Phillip C. Jessup, Daniel K. Catlin and Dr. Henry M. Wriston. While 20 of the 28 members were present on the day the motion was unanimously tabled by the Board, not one absent or present spoke out against Hiss. General Eisenhower, who was in Washington on that day, had been informed of the action to be taken by the Board and could have registered his objection to the motion in writing or by telephone. The endorsement by the Carnegie Board at that time was far more valuable to Hiss than the bare statement of fact made by Stevenson later in the trial.

Even as early as the beginning of the House Un-American Activities investigation into the pumpkin papers, the names of Republicans as well as Democrats began cropping up to give a bipartisan atmosphere in the committee hearings. Hiss prepared a list for the committee of "living personages of recognized stature under whom I worked in government." He cited, among others, (the late) Arthur Vandenburg (R, Mich.), Sen. Tom Connally (D, Tex.), Rep. Charles A. Eaton (R, N. J.), (the late) Sol Bloom (D, N. Y.), former Secretaries of State Cordell Hull and James F. Byrnes, former Undersecretaries Joseph C. Grew, Dean Acheson and William Clayton, and Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed. Hiss proposed as prospective character witnesses the late Dr. Isaiah Bowman, a member of the Dumbarton Oaks delegation and former president of Johns Hopkins University, and John Foster Dulles, a principal adviser at the Charter-drafting meeting at San Francisco and at that time foreign-relations adviser to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in his campaign for the Presidency on the Republican ticket.

Dulles, who is now directing foreign policy for Eisenhower, was a principal witness in the Hiss trial. He had been close to Hiss over a period of years. The New York *Times* (July 1, 1949) reported:

> Mr. Dulles told the jury he had sounded out Mr. Hiss in October, 1946, on the chances of his taking the Carnegie post. Dulles testified that he had a telephone conversation with Mr. Hiss before the latter took office in January, 1947.

The *Times* quoted Hiss as stating at this same period in the trial:

> I had a conversation with Mr. John Foster Dulles in which he said he had heard reports that people called me a Communist. We discussed those reports at that time. I can only assume, that being at least a month before I assumed office, more than a month, that Mr. Dulles was satisfied there was nothing to report as I was myself.

It is interesting to note that the Stevenson deposition

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was introduced into the trial on June 2, 1949. As late as January 12, 1950, Dr. James T. Shotwell, president of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, testified before the jury that Hiss had the "highest" reputation for "loyalty, integrity and veracity." The New York *Times* (January 13, 1950) reports:

Dr. Shotwell said the Carnegie trustees had declined to accept the resignation of Hiss as president when it was offered on December 13, 1948, and had voted instead to place him on leave with full pay until May 5, 1949. Since Mr. Hiss had declined to be a candidate for re-election, Dr. Shotwell had succeeded [Hiss] as President last May. . . .

Of the others who testified at the trial to Hiss's loyalty, integrity and veracity, appearing in person which Stevenson did not, all took their stand at dates later than June 2, 1949. They include: Charles F. Darlington, now with Socony Vacuum Oil Company (June 20, 1949—"the finest reputation anyone could have"), Judge Calvert T. Magruder of the US Court of Appeals, First Circuit, Boston (June 22, 1949—"excellent reputation), Supreme Court Justices Felix Frankfurter and Stanley F. Reed (June 22, 1949—"never heard any question" of Hiss's reputation), Clarence E. Pickett, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee (December 13, 1949—Hiss's reputation was "of the very highest quality"), Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck (December 13, 1949—"I never heard Alger Hiss described as a Communist until just prior to this trial"), Gerard Swope Jr., attorney for the International Electric Company (December 12, 1949—"excellent" character), Rear Adm. Arthur J. Hepburn, USN Retired (December 29, 1949) —"excellent" reputation), and John Loomer Hall, senior member of the Boston law firm of Choate, Hall and Stewart and a director of Westinghouse Electric (December 15, 1949—"excellent" reputation when Hiss worked with the firm from 1930 to 1932).

Many of these men were conservatives. They believed in the Democratic process by which a man is innocent until proved guilty and they believed in stating the truth as they saw the truth. History perhaps proved them wrong. But right or wrong their appearances at the trial impressed the jury that had to pick between Chambers and Hiss.

In contrast Stevenson's testimony dealt almost entirely with facts. Unlike Dulles, whose working relationship with Hiss was so frequent that he felt Hiss highly qualified for the Carnegie post, Stevenson had only a casual acquaintance with Hiss first in 1933 in the Agriculture Department and later in 1945 in the State Department. Unlike Dulles, who had heard rumors that Hiss was a Communist even before he became head of Carnegie, as the trial testimony brings out, Stevenson in his deposition states that prior to 1948 he had not heard reports that Hiss was a Communist. Stevenson had never been in Hiss's home and his relation with him was routine. These are the facts as the transcript shows:

Q. Where, when and under what circumstances did you first become acquainted with him?

A. We served together in the legal division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in Washington in 1933.

Q. State the nature and extent of your association with him from that time until the present.

A. In the AAA in 1933 we were working on different commodities. Our contact was frequent, but not close nor daily. I had no further contact with him until I met him again in the State Department when I went to work there in 1945. Upon my arrival in the State Department at the end of February or early March to the end of April, when Mr. Hiss left for the San Francisco Conference, he was, I think, largely preoccupied with the arrangements for that conference, for the UN Conference on International Organization at San Francisco. During that interval, from the first of March to the end of April, I was engaged in other matters and met him mostly in intradepartmental meetings and in connection with some aspects of the plan for the San Francisco Conference, largely relating to matters pertaining to the handling of the press at the conference. I was at the conference myself as assistant to the Secretary of State, from about the 10th of May until the end of June. During that interval Mr. Hiss was secretary-general of the conference and I was attached to the United States delegation. Our paths did not cross in a business way, but we met occasionally at official social functions.

. . . I resigned from the Department early in August, 1945, and so far as I recall I did not meet Mr. Hiss personally again until he came to London in January, 1946, with the United States delegation to the first General Assembly of the United Nations. During that conference in January and February we had offices nearby each other and met frequently at meetings and staff conferences.

I returned to the United States in March, 1946, and I do not believe I met Mr. Hiss again until the UN General Assembly in New York in 1947. At that time he was connected with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and I visited with him on one or two occasions at my office in the United States delegation headquarters in connection with the budget for the UN, which was one of my responsibilities as a member of the American delegation. I have not seen him since.

Q. Have you known other persons who have known Mr. Alger Hiss?

A. Yes.

Q. From the speech of those persons, can you state what the reputation of Alger Hiss is for integrity, loyalty and veracity?

A. Good.

Q. Were you ever a guest in the home of defendant Alger

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Hiss at any time in 1935 to and including 1938?

A. No, I have never been a guest in Mr. Hiss's home.

Q. Did you, prior to 1948, hear that the defendant, Alger Hiss, during the years 1937 and 1938 removed confidential and secret documents from the State Department and made such documents available to persons not authorized to see or receive them?

A. No.

Q. Did you, prior to 1948, hear reports that the defendant, Alger Hiss, was a Communist?

A. No.

Q. Did you, prior to 1948, hear reports that the defendant, Alger Hiss, was a Communist sympathizer?

A. No.

When questioned recently about his "association" with Hiss, Governor Stevenson replied:

It seems to me that it will be a very sad day for Anglo-Saxon justice when any man, and especially a lawyer, will refuse to give honest evidence in a criminal trial for fear the defendant in an action may eventually be found guilty. What would happen to our whole system of law if such timidity prevailed? . . .

In this Hiss case, I just can't imagine what people would have expected me to do. Was I supposed to say that I didn't know Hiss, when I most certainly did know him? Was I supposed to say that his reputation was bad? Obviously it was good, or he wouldn't have held the exalted public position he was in when I met him in the State Department in 1945. Nor would he have been selected as president of the Carnegie Endowment by some of the most conservative and respected businessmen in the country. The only basis I can see for finding fault with my deposition would be on the assumption that I lied because I was supposed to have some confidential information about his activities eight or 10 years before. I had not seen or even heard of him from 1933 to 1945, and when I did meet him again I never heard even a syllable of suspicion about him.

I must admit, this talk about that deposition irks me a good deal. If I were asked to answer the same questions tomorrow, in all honesty I would have to give exactly the same answers. And also I would have just as little cause to quarrel with the final verdict of the court.

It is not Stevenson but Eisenhower who is haunted by the political ghost of Alger Hiss. For the sake of his conscience and his integrity, Eisenhower should instruct his fellow Republicans to lay the ghost of Hiss to rest.

CHICAGO: "CORRUPT AND CONTENTED"?

by Albert N. Votaw

THEY FINALLY got Ted Roe. No one expected him to depart quietly. But he went at an awkward time for a good many persons.

The slugs from five extra-heavy shotgun shells that shattered Roe's jaw and chest ended the career of the last independent entrepreneur in Chicago's $30-million-a-year policy racket. It followed the examples set by the associates of the late Al Capone whose shotguns and black-powder bombs induced the retirement of Roe's millionaire former associates.

For a long time the mayor, the police commissioner and most of the aldermen have been patiently trying to explain away the persistent suspicions that there may be an association between organized criminal activity and certain examples of political corruption. And now another murder! Again citizens are reminded of the string of unsolved gangster killings over the past two years. The list reads like one that could have been drawn up during the trigger-happy bootleg era a generation ago: a union organizer, an ex-cop, known hoodlums and two-bit politicians, not to mention a score of non-fatal bombings and shootings.

And now Ted Roe! His career was constructed on the alliance between crime and politics. Its symbiotic nature was illustrated 14 months ago when Roe shot down one or two killers lying in wait to murder him. At least, Roe said he fired the shot. The evidence indicates that it was one of his bodyguards, probably a city policeman. It is not often that a gangster admits to homicide in order to cover up for a cop.

Roe is supposed to have paid two detectives each $20 a night to guard him. Certainly he was well spoken of by policemen in the district where he lived and operated. During the 1938 strike of police runners, police guarded the policy stations to protect the customers from picket-line violence. Recently, a minor policy operator escaped a police trap when a detective ran out of the police station to warn him.

Yet Police Commissioner O'Connor denies that his cops are getting paid off. "You prove it to me," he says, in effect, "and I'll take action." His critics argue that honesty on the force and the elimination of graft are also his responsibility.

Shortly before Roe was killed, the City Council refused to permit its own special investigator to require city policemen to turn in statements of their income. Such statements might help explain why Roe was permitted to continue operations. They might also help explain such anomalies as the expensive autos and homes owned by some policemen, or such items as the $200,000 loan by a former police captain that enabled

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a local hoodlum to open a down-town night club.

The Council's refusal to vote the police income questionnaire crippled a civic campaign to uncover proof of an alliance between crime and politics. This concern for the susceptibilities of a chronically underpaid police force may be partially explained by the fear that if cops can be forced to tell where they get their money so too can aldermen. For the rest, our city fathers, like those in Lincoln Steffens' Philadelphia, appear "corrupt and contented."

The Council's investigation of crime and corruption was an unwilling response to a wave of civic indignation following the murder of an obscure-acting Republican ward committeeman named Charles Gross. A "committee of nine" aldermen was selected, whose purpose was ostensibly to discover the truth of widespread allegations that an organized crime syndicate was corrupting the city's political life. Since organized crime cannot exist without the payoff, an investigation of police incomes seemed to some a logical place to start. For others, it was a good place to end the investigation.

But if the Council is unwilling, a private body, "The Big Nineteen," continues its efforts. This group of business and civic leaders was formed in immediate response to the Gross murder. It has collected over $100,000 with which it intends to set up a permanent investigating body.

Although this crusade for good government was touched off by the murder of ex-bookie Gross, that unwilling martyr to good government, it was actually the public hearings of Senator Kefauver's Crime Committee that first shocked Chicago's apathetic citizens. In the cause of those hearings a police captain admitted he accepted a large financial gift from a prominent gambler and politicians, including the Democratic candidate for sheriff, were forced publicly to admit their association with gamblers and hoodlums. ("The crime syndicate? never heard of it," repeats reform Mayor Martin Kennelly.)

The Senate group also heard at great length from Ted Roe. Shortly after Commissioner O'Connor dismissed policy racketeering as "unimportant," Roe mounted the witness stand and discussed — somewhat too freely, it was felt—his operations. He estimated that $24,000 a day was wagered on his policy wheel, one of 15 then operating in the city. He and his partners profited as follows: $973,000 in 1945, $1,120,000 in 1946, $852,000 in 1947, $997,000 in 1948, $687,000 in 1949, and $352,000 for the first 11 months of 1950.

Policy is one example of the American genius for mass production. Policy exploits the many who are poor, not the few who are wealthy. The basic bet is a dime, but candy stores have been known to accept penny bets from children. During the depression, policy stations cashed relief checks; as late as 1942, one-fifth of the bettors were said to be on relief.

Roe himself estimated before the Kefauver committee that 60 percent of Chicago's colored population plays policy. Bets are collected by a multitude of "runners," who canvass street corners, stores, taverns and apartment buildings.

The usual bet in this poor man's game is a three-number parlay or "gig." The possible pay-off is 200 to one; the odds against winning are 78,000 to one.

Bets are placed on the possibility of one, three, five or more numbers being drawn from a group of 78. The numbers are written on 78 wooden cubes and placed within the "wheel," a hollow cylinder turned by a crank. Crooked wheels frequently omit certain "lucky numbers" such as seven, 11 or the date of the month on which the drawing is made. The drawings are made once or twice a day in various concealed locations to which the wheel is brought.

The first policy wheel came to Chicago in 1885 from New Orleans. By 1903 policy was a $5-million-a-year business. An integral part of the Negro community here, it has survived major investigations and policy crack-downs in 1905, 1924, 1931 and 1942. At present the federal government is investigating the incomes of the various policy bosses with an eye toward possible tax violations.

Because the Capone gang was unable to break into this field, they signed a truce with the predominately Negro policy operators. These last were already formally organized before the threat from the white gangs; they initially associated in order to stop duplicate payoffs to the politicians and police. This agreement was kept until about 1940. Subsequently, a series of bombings and kidnappings drove out all the independents except Roe, who was too lucky and too brave to quit.

The Syndicate, as the efficient organization of the Capone heirs headed by Tony Accardo and Jake Guzik is called, kept the Negro employees of the wheels. They were satisfied with a 50-percent cut "off the top"—i.e. from gross income. The Kefauver Committee uncovered a 1948 income-tax return, submitted by the manager of one of the formerly independent wheels. It listed a payment of $278,667 to Accardo and Guzik.

Now the last of the independents has been "retired." The irony of Roe's death was that, regardless of any activity by his rivals, he had only months to live. Cancer had eaten away half his stomach. A little patience on the part of the Syndicate would have sufficed.

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CAN IKE WELD A NEW GOP ALLIANCE?

by Wilfred E. Binkley

IN THE SPRING of 1938 a panel of professors on a program of the annual Midwestern conference of political scientists wound up with the conclusion that what the Republican Party needed was one more good licking. Alas, since then it has endured three resounding defeats—six if mid-term Congressional elections are included—and it still remains to be seen whether it has had enough spanking to bring it to its senses. No one who understands the process of electing the President by the Electoral College wants to see the two-party system ended and a multiple-party system substituted which would throw Presidential elections into the House of Representatives. American democracy depends for its normal functioning upon two parties—no more or less. And scarcely anything would be more wholesome for the Democratic Party than an occasional break in its long winning streak.

The revitalizing of the Republican Party into a vigorous organism capable of providing a persisting challenge to the dominance of the Democratic Party would seem to be a project definitely in the public interest as Roland N. Stromberg has pointed out in *Republicanism Reappraised*. Those who pick up this little book expecting to find an objective analysis of the problem of the rehabilitation of the Republican Party are in for disillusionment. The book is peppered throughout with Olympian judgments couched in terms of contempt for the Republican Party. For example "simple ignorance explains much" of Republican conduct. There are "illustrious dunderheads," "petty-minded men," "utter want of common judgment" and "small-minded party despots" as well as those who "mouth meaningless slogans." Bertram Gross would scarcely stand for anything as rough as this in campaign pamphlets issuing from his research staff of the Democratic National Committee. However, *Republicanism Reappraised* is not devoid of some shrewd observations. Of course the Republican Party "must build on its traditions." There was a time, he adds, when "their concern for the popular welfare of worker and farmer as well as business man was deep and real." In contrast, as he points out the grass-root Republican conclave at Springfield in June, 1935, "took refuge in a slogan extremely strange on Republican lips at Lincoln's tomb: States Rights." Moreover, Stromberg raises the embarrassing question: If as Republicans have long claimed the Great Depression spread here from abroad, how can any Republican argue that the economic condition of Europe is no concern of ours; "let it stew in its own juice." Nor can his charge of the inveterate negativism of the Republican Party be lightly dismissed. It is a party reputation to be lived down.

What ails the Republican Party cannot be sought out by assigning it a personality and a diabolical one at that. Long before academicians awoke to the reality that a major American party is always a group coalition, that fact was already a part of the working knowledge of every successful politician from national leader to ward heeler as he astutely calculated how to capture the labor vote, the church vote, the Irish vote and all the rest of the "votes." Holy or unholy, every major American party has been or is a group coalition and the most successful of them all was the Republican Party when for two long generations it commanded the loyal allegiance of most American voters. For more than two decades now the fundamental defect of the Republican Party is the fact that it has degenerated into an inadequate group coalition. Its rehabilitation now depends upon the leadership of an artist in group diplomacy—a McKinley, a Hanna or a Theodore Roosevelt—some leader capable of discovering areas of agreement in the combination, integrating its personnel and infusing it with a living faith. If Eisenhower can do all that, he will be conferring a blessing on the Republican Party, will be fortifying the two-party system and revitalizing representative government in the United States.

Nowhere could Eisenhower perform a greater service for the American two-party system than in the South where opinion polls have been registering his extraordinary popularity. In Southern states there persists a vicious overweighting of rural population in state legislatures and sometimes even in a peculiar rigging of statewide elections. Consequently frustrated urbanites in the South, unable to get the reforms they need from the one-party Democratic regimes, tend to vote Republican with the result that the Republican vote in the South has increased 50 percent in 10 years. Here is a movement Eisenhower might accelerate. In the light of this trend there is something pathetic in the miscalculations of those Republicans who had hoped to strengthen the Republican Party nationally by a permanent alliance with the Dixiecrats, a faction already doomed by the rapid industrialization of the hitherto agrarian South and the consequent rapidly growing multi-group complexity of

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that section. It's time Republicans quit betting on wrong horses.

It should have been obvious that Bourbon Democracy was making its last stand in a hopeless rear-guard action of a retreat into oblivion. This should have been evident to the high command at the Republican convention. The future prospects of any major party now hinge on the urban minorities concentrated in the metropolitan centers of half a dozen pivotal states, minorities capable by concerted group action of giving the candidate who commands their confidence a bloc of 185 electoral votes. These minorities are largely ethnic and religious groups, the maturing children and grand-children of the new immigration of early in the present century. They are intensely interested in civil rights. It remains to be seen whether the Republican platform did well with a none too vigorous civil-rights plank in its bid for Southern electoral votes.

The Dixiecrats in the Democratic National Convention were sobered by the persisting possibility that the Democrats might be able to elect a President without a single Southern vote. Franklin Roosevelt had been elected four times with all the Southern electoral votes to spare. What would it profit a Republican candidate to gain the whole South and yet lose the Presidency? In any case the collapse of the Dixiecrats confronts the Republican candidate and organization with a revision of strategy.

If we clear away the non-essentials that obscure the realities of a Presidential campaign and get down to the heart of the matter, we find it to be essentially a competition between two candidates each trying to out-bid the other in promising appropriate policies to groups that might be built into a winning combination. In effect the candidate says: "Vote for me, and I as President will promote the policies you desire." Of course this must be done with finesse and couched in terms of the public interest, a practice at which Lincoln was extraordinarily expert. Group diplomacy is a political art at which McKinley and Hanna and Theodore Roosevelt were adept as 14 years of unbroken Republican command of the Presidency, Senate and House demonstrated. "Mr. McKinley," observed the late Herbert Croly, "represented a group of ideas as nearly national as any political leader of his generation," and the historian Henry Adams revealed the group dynamics of that leadership with the observation that McKinley "undertook to pool interests in a general trust into which every interest should be taken more or less at its own valuation and whose mass should, under his management, create efficiency. He achieved very remarkable results." McKinley's successor, Theodore Roosevelt, accumulated even a wider group combination because he could "organize the unorganizable" as Charles Edward Merriam put it. Since him the Republican Party has had no great group diplomatist and from that deficiency the party suffers today. Whether Eisenhower possesses the necessary talents and can develop the requisite skill remains to be seen. The fate of the Republican Party hangs on that question.

Nor need the Republican candidate and party high command disdain to capture the Presidency through the delivery of positive instead of mere abstract benefits to the public. It's time to stop the baby act of complaining that the Democratic Party has been purchasing the Presidency by social security, slum clearance and other benefits to the voters. The Republican Party sprang into existence in the 1850s in an effort to give away free farms untainted by the immediate presence of slavery. The material political resources of the Republican Party following the Civil War consisted of the public domain. Millions of acres were given away to the railroads. The stock raisers were permitted practically free run of the praries for grazing. The lumber kings got the forests; the gold, silver, iron, copper, coal and petroleum barons exploited the mineral resources with labor thereby afforded abundant jobs. Bankers financed the public debt, manufacturers got tariffs. And as always the implied bargains were glossed over with soul satisfying sentiments such as "The party that saved the nation must rule it." To the public generally it meant developing the nation's resources, and the public satisfaction with it all was indicated by Republican victories in 14 out of 18 Presidential elections. The party that traded the public domain for such a prolonged tenure of power is in no position to complain about a give-away program.

The time has come for the Republicans to quit complaining because Franklin Roosevelt found another way to play the game of group diplomacy successfully when there was no longer a public domain to give away. Instead of complaining the Republicans will have to pitch into the game they once knew how to play so well. Eisenhower's major problem is to get the Republican Party out of the corner into which it has been backed and made to appear anti-labor, anti-farmer, anti-housing, anti-rural electrification, anti-poor man, anti-youth, in short, anti-almost everything that contributed to the invincible Franklin Roosevelt group combination. It must now bring to the electorate "something more than an appetite and a belly ache," as the late William Allen White characterized his party's plight shortly before his passing.

The Republican Party must now pitch into the tough game of competition with the Democratic Party and convince the electorate that it can provide the public

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with a better catalogue of substantial positive benefits than the Democratic Party has been providing. And in executing such tactics it had better not go too far in itemizing the contents of the New Deal if it is going to concentrate on damning the New Deal. The Republican platform has unostentatiously incorporated too many of these items in its contents. Let it never be forgotten that whether or not Governor Dewey represented "me-tooism" he came nearer capturing the Presidency, in the last campaign, than any other Republican in almost a quarter of a century.

The managers of the Republican campaign could well take to heart Professor Stromberg's observation: "A party must build on its own traditions." Wendell Willkie was enormously handicapped as a Republican candidate by the lack of the Republican traditions. His pattern of thought was always in terms of Democratic traditions. He never managed even to say "Fellow Republicans," and twice in the few sentences of his address to the convention that had just nominated him he said "You Republicans." The Republican Party has a great tradition as the late Charles A. Beard declared in *The Republic*. With all its shortcomings the party has had an inspiring career. A party that so long commanded the loyalty of most of the citizens of a great democracy could not be otherwise. We have the judgment of that outstanding liberal historian, Arthur Meier Schlesinger Sr., that the Republican Party "cannot be accounted for solely by the economic affiliations of the party. The party had won a deep and abiding loyalty in the North because, as it seemed to many, it had been truly the instrument of Providence in saving the nation in time of trial and stress."

It would be well to set the research staff for the Republican Party campaign exploring the possibility of utilizing the party's finest traditions. There is the party's incomparable contribution to the foundations of civil rights—the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. One monumental Supreme Court opinion after another fortifying civil rights is based on provisions in these amendments. Research will reveal that the states in pioneering social legislation have been with very rare exceptions Republican states. When Republican leadership makes its bid for recapturing the lost labor vote it can stress the origin of the Republican Party as a champion of free as opposed to slave labor. McKinley, Hanna and Theodore Roosevelt commanded the allegiance of the industrial precincts on election days.

When Eisenhower deals with foreign relations he can tap almost inexhaustible resources of party tradition. Historically, isolationism is an aberration from old party tendencies. The father of Sen. Robert A. Taft was no isolationist when, as ex-President, he traveled up and down the land as this writer heard him arguing cogently for ratification of the covenant of the League of Nations. John Hay was anything but an isolationist when he seized the initiative in the Open Door Policy to prevent the dismemberment of China. Nor was Charles Evans Hughes isolationist when as Secretary of State he dominated the Naval Limitation Conference in 1921. Neither was he when he served as one of the judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The last three Republican Presidents were not isolationists when they advocated adherence to that court only to be frustrated by a Senate minority. Traditionally the genius of the Republican Party in power has been usually expressed in a vigorous foreign policy.

General Eisenhower is in step with that tradition. It may well be that most voters will cast their ballots after deciding the question as to which candidate can come closest to assuring us against an atomic Armageddon in the next four years.

The comprehensive researches of Samuel Lubell as detailed in his *The Future of American Politics* reveals an enormous segment of the electorate ever haunted by the spectre of the next depression. Not long ago the writer asked a student, "Why are you a Democrat?" The reply came in a split second, "I ate too many beans during the depression." There are millions like him. How are the Republicans going to lay this ghost? Certainly not by persistently harping on promised tax cuts, sometimes reaching such astronomical figures as $40 billion. What is the sense in insisting on "balancing the budget" when the Employment Act of 1946, if it signifies anything, proposes not to balance the budget but to tax sufficiently in time of prosperity to check inflation and use the surplus to reduce the national debt. In depression the Employment Act is designed to step up government spending sufficiently to take up the slack of declining private business and thereby provide employment. Are Republicans determined to repudiate the promise of this statute?

Here is an obligation and all this chatter about balancing the budget though the heavens fall is enough to scare the super daylights out of the millions of voters who "ate too many beans" during the last depression. The election could even turn on which candidate can give the voters the most confident assurance he would not let them down if a depression comes in the next four years. An inflexible determination to balance the budget will agitate not lay the spectre of depression. Stevenson caution in adopting this campaign slogan may yet prove to be the schrewdist politics.

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PROGRESS AGAINST POLIO

by Bruce Bliven

LATE THIS fall we shall have the most important piece of news in history regarding one of the most dreaded diseases: polio. In November or December we should know whether an effective immunizing agent has been developed.

This summer, about 50,000 children have participated in an experiment involving the use of gamma globulin, a fraction of the blood of recovered polio victims. Half the children received injections of gamma globulin, the other half got a harmless substance identical in appearance. The mass inoculations were given in Houston, Tex., and Sioux City, Ia., both of which have just experienced severe polio epidemics. By late autumn it will be possible to tell whether the incidence of polio was significantly smaller among the children who got the gamma globulin than among those who did not.

This great experiment follows several recent scientific discoveries of the utmost importance, nearly all of them the result of work supported by the March of Dimes (the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis). Only a few months ago, the method of transmission of polio was still a mystery. Today we are fairly sure that it enters the system through the mouth, moves from the alimentary tract into the bloodstream, and then to the nerves where it produces its characteristic crippling effect. If it goes no farther than the bloodstream, and is there overcome by natural anti-bodies, the patient is only slightly ill, and thereafter he is immune to this particular form of polio for many years, probably for the rest of his life. There are three polio types, and at least 85 percent of the population is immune to one or more of them because of an earlier mild attack which may have been brushed off when it occurred as "only a slight, feverish cold."

Polio terrifies people because most of its victims are children, and because it can leave lifelong crippling effects. In fact, however, several other diseases have a heavier mortality. The worst year on record, 1949, saw 42,000 cases. Normally, among the victims four out of five recover with slight permanent injury or none. Only one in eight will be seriously crippled, and only one in 12 will die. These figures represent a great improvement in recent years because of advances in treatment; as recently as 1916, about one in four died.

On August 1 of this year the NFIP announced that the number of cases was the highest ever recorded on that date.

It is an ironic fact that polio is "a cleanliness disease." The more civilized a country and the higher its standards of sanitation, the heavier is the incidence. In the countries where sanitation is less regarded, babies apparently get light attacks early in life and are immune thereafter. (During the first few months of its life, a baby shares whatever immunity its mother may have possessed.) The harm done by polio may be of any of three types, though these are not associated with the three types of virus. Spinal polio damages or destroys the nerve cells controlling the movements of the body below the neck; bulbar polio affects the cells of the brain which control breathing, swallowing and the circulation of the blood. The third type, called spino-bulbar, is a combination of these two.

What can be done to reduce the likelihood of getting polio? The National Foundation recommends that all members of the family have plenty of rest and avoid chilling. The house and the person should be kept as clean as possible. Hands should be thoroughly washed after every visit to the bathroom, and always before eating, whether at mealtime or otherwise. Under epidemic conditions, both adults and children should keep out of crowds. At these times operations for the removal of tonsils and adenoids should be avoided, and injections should not be given for diphtheria, whooping cough or tetanus unless there is a really urgent reason.

Leading authorities advise against sending city children to the country or the seashore to protect them. The virus is just as likely to exist in one place as another, and the child might be presented in the new place with a fresh type to which he is not immune.

If during the polio season any individual develops feverishness, sore throat, headache, upset stomach or sore muscles, put him to bed, keep others out of the room and call a doctor. Treatment consists at the beginning of bed rest and the application of moist heat to reduce muscular pains. If the nerve cells are only damaged and not destroyed, they may be rehabilitated and the wasted muscles brought back to vigor, by a prolonged series of exercises. If the nerve cells are destroyed, the paralysis is permanent.

Contrary to the impression many people have, American physicians do not disagree with the ideas of the famous Sister Kenny of Australia, and her technique, of applying moist heat and beginning physical exercises at the earliest possible moment, is now universally practiced.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE NEW VATICAN INDEX

by Percy Winner

THE ITALY of the Popes of Rome is the traditional hearth and home of modern censorship. Alexander VI introduced the principle as a formal instrument of the Church's political *raison d'etat* at the end of the 15th century. The control of dangerous thoughts through the banning of books is also Papal in origin. What is now called the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was officially created through the agency of the Inquisition by Paul IV and Pius IV in the 16th century, though the practice of prohibiting books on doctrinal or moral grounds had begun during the pontificate of Gelasius nearly a thousand years before.

The Inquisition has long since ceased to exist—or it has at least in its earlier forms and in the Western world. The *auto da fe* survives in modern dress only in Vozd Stalin's Marxist Byzantium. Yet it was only a half-century ago, under Pope Leo XIII, that the Index was re-confirmed in its authority over the minds of all within the communion of the See of Saint Peter. And in our own time, new names of authors and books continue to be added to the 30,000-odd already on the Index.

By absolute and unappealable order of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, Roman Catholics—including those at work in the slave labor camps behind the Iron Curtain—may no longer read any of the works of André Gide, at peril to their immortal souls. The only truly surprising aspect of the condemnation is the timing; the Holy See appears to agree with Shakespeare's Marc Anthony that the evil of men lives after them. For the author of *l'Immortaliste* lived long enough in the flesh to win the Nobel Prize but not to join the company on the Index of such fellow-countrymen—to mention only a sampling—as Pascal, Descartes, Voltaire, La Fontaine, Sainte Beuve, Taine, Stendhal, Balzac, Hugo, Flaubert, Zola, Sartre.

The case of Alberto Moravia is rather different. It is not usual for a man in his early forties, whose domain is sense rather than soul, to have his *opera omnia* lifted from popular best-seller lists to join such giants as Kant or Hume. Nor has the author of *La Romana* and *Gli Indifferenti* quite achieved, in his own country, the stature of Croce, D'Annunzio, Foscolo, Leopardi, Pirandello, Fogazzaro, Gentile—to mention only a handful of the army of Italians who march through the pages of the Index.

Moreover, Moravia is not nearly as well-known, as important and, above all, as potentially dangerous to the flesh and spirit of his countrymen as an older member of his own family. Augusto de Marsanich, his uncle, though not a novelist, is responsible for a great deal of politically purple (and poisonous) prose; he is the secretary of the MSI, the neo-Fascist movement which through its alliance with the Monarchist has become the country's "third force."

During most of the recent southern Italian local election campaign, which resulted in a 21-percent vote for the Fascist-Monarch alliance and no appreciable loss for the Communist combination, the Catholic Action's Dr. Luigi Gedda chose to give his political imprimatur to de Marsanich rather than to Premier Alcide de Gasperi. But at the end of the campaign, with the fate of the Rome city administration in the balance, the *Osservatore Romano* shifted its stand: Roman Catholics were told it was their "strict duty" to vote for the Christian Democrats; and some Bishops and Archbishops, going farther, said it would be a "mortal sin" not to vote for them, involving denial of th sacraments.

So, now, while the Holy Office is taking care of nephew Moravia, the Government of de Gasperi, who used to be the Vatican librarian, is in the position and feels the need to protect Italian democracy from such enemies as uncle de Marsanich. The purpose of three new laws, sponsored by the Government, is to create a species of police-power Index Acti Prohibitorum, capable of checking the growth of dictatorship both on the Left and the Right.

Though only one of the laws is specifically on "the discipline of the written word" all three involve censorship and thought-control of one sort or another. The first gives Interior Minister Mario Scelba the power he has long wanted to use—Bourbon police methods—legally. It is directed specifically against Fascism, and the Communists supported it. But the vote by which it was adopted in the Chamber, 401 to 34, suggests that the neo-Fascists aren't afraid. By other names and some skillful legal wangling, they believe, the new Fascism will escape the penalties. There is nothing in the law, they think, which can really make it a threat not only to the small fry, de Marsanich, Almirante, Mieville, and to the front men, Prince Borghese and General Graziani, but also to the bigger and more shadowy figures who feed the funds from the great industries and landed estates.

The second law, the so-called *Polivalente*, though directed against both Left and Right, is plainly aimed at the Communists. De Gasperi told Palmiro Togliatti in the Chamber: "If the present laws aren't enough, we'll adopt others . . . We have the right to contain and, if we can, to eliminate the dangers of your activities." Italian democrats don't quarrel with that attitude; on the contrary, they approve. But they judge from the absence of Communist violence

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or even serious agitation during the visit of General Ridgway that Togliatti wasn't entirely lying when he said: "Our mission now is to talk, to convince, to persuade, to make deeper, more imperious and more impetuous the will of the Italian people." Of course, Togliatti is no democrat; he is a slavishly faithful Stalinist. But (as I have pointed out recently) the current Italian Communist line, unlike the French, is conciliation. It is to lie low, and let the rise of neo-Fascism do Communism's anti-democratic work in its behalf.

The present neo-Fascist line, on the other hand, is tough, and not a whit less anti-Atlantic and anti-American—at least not in the long run—than the Communist's permanent line. The great question about the new laws is whether they can carry out their democratic purpose if they use anti-democratic methods. Old and bad traditions remain in Italy, not only of the old Papal past but also of the recent Mussolinian past. Before much new can be done effectively, there are already in supposedly democratic Italy evil things that need to be undone.

In a new book, *Return to the Censorship,* Vitaliano Brancati, a novelist who rates higher in his own country than Moravia, gives chapter and verse to prove that, at least as far as stage and film thought-control is concerned, Mussolini died too soon to see with pleasure the de facto re-creation of his notorious Ministry of Popular Culture. Brancati says that under Giorgio Tupini, young favorite of de Gasperi, the same old methods and much of the same personnel are being used in the new censorship.

The third law is an out-and-out censorship device. It gives Scelba and Tupini such broad and loosely worded power to "safeguard the security and constitutional order of the state" that, in the hands of old Fascists and young Fascist-minded underlings, it can defeat democracy in the process of blocking the new Fascists. For example, foreign publications are to be subject to prior censorship. Straight news in Italian newspapers can be suppressed (or the newspapers containing it can be seized) if it contains "sensational or distressing details that may disturb the common moral sense or family order or give information about suicides and crimes." Obviously the same criteria of thought-control which led the Holy Office to ban Moravia figure—here too, and in broader political contexts. "Family order" in the land of the Popes is a wider and even more amorphous concept than blasphemy, but there is no Supreme Court to balance the Supreme Congregation. And it will be a miracle if the liberals and the democrats don't suffer more than the Communists and neo-Fascists from the operations of the new Index.

The inclusion of Gide and other modern French writers on the new list can cause serious worry about the immediate future of Catholic literature in general. Such authors as Mauriac have notoriously proven that theological orthodoxy need not qualify the moral tenor of Catholic prose. While the writing of Evelyn Waugh and Graham Greene could not be considered as destructive to faith, these authors continue to deal with themes which, from a Catholic view, must be thought of as dangerous morally. So far the highest authorities of the Holy See have been reluctant to attack that group of authors which, in profane eyes, is proof of the artistic strength of the Church.

PERCY WINNER

INSTRUMENT OF JUSTICE

GUILTY OR NOT GUILTY and PRISONER AT THE BAR, by Francis X. Busch (Bobbs-Merrill; $3.50 each).

MOST PERSONS RECOGNIZE the role of juries in determining the guilt or innocence of a defendant accused of crime, but a far smaller number think of the jury as a defender of constitutional freedoms as well. In the early periods of our national development, however, American juries followed the pattern created in England during the Parliamentary struggles and would refuse to convict defendants where the prosecutions stemmed from arbitrary or unpopular action by the government. This was notably true in the Peter Zenger libel case of 1735 and the refusal of Jeffersonian jurors to convict violators of the Alien and Sedition Laws. As our legal system became more formalized, such jury independence slipped into disuse, but the possibility of these judgments remained a part of our criminal law framework. Thus, it is still permissible today for the twelve good men and true to release a defendant by their verdict despite a clearly applicable penal statute and seemingly conclusive evidence. Once this "not guilty" has been pronounced by the foreman, all the attorneys general and courts cannot constitutionally put the defendant in jeopardy again for the same offense.

Recognizing this potential of the jury system as a trier of fact and a participant in the courtroom protection of civil liberties, two books by the noted trial lawyer, Francis X. Busch, are of special interest for us today. In *Guilty or Not Guilty* and *Prisoner at the Bar*, Mr. Busch presents eight notable American trials, giving us eight studies of the jury function in operation. In each of these criminal cases—the trial of William Haywood for the bomb-murder of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho; of Nichola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti for the Braintree payroll holdup; of financier Samuel Insull for using the mails to defraud; of D. C. Stephenson for the murder of Madge Oberholtzer; of Bruno Hauptmann for the kidnaping-killing of Charles Lindbergh Jr.; of Richard Loeb and Nathan Leopold for the murder of "Bobbie" Franks; of Leo Frank for the death of Mary Phagan; and of Alger Hiss for perjury—Mr. Busch makes the reader a "thirteenth juror," able to reach his own judgment as to the guilt or innocence of the accused. Each case is presented in a threefold pattern—the crime, the investigation and arrest, and the court trial—and each case moves forward in a prose style which combines the pace of good journalism with the neatness and precision of legal statement.

What makes these trials even more fascinating than the personal issues involved is the fact that in each courtroom drama, the reader obtains vivid insights

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into twentieth century American society itself, and more particularly, its reaction to the charge of anti-social conduct against unpopular defendants. Most of the trials had clearly political overtones. The Sacco-Vanzetti case is a record of the anti-radical and anti-foreign atmosphere of the 1920s; the tale of a poor fish peddler and a good shoemaker which split the nation squarely in two. Clarence Darrow's defense of "Big Bill" Haywood was a defense of the Western Federation of Miners and the American trade union movement, as well as a graphic denunciation of life under the ruthless mine owners. With the sentencing of David Stephenson for the assault and death of Madge Oberholtzer, the political power of the Ku Klux Klan was cracked in Indiana, and a figure "above the law" brought to justice.

The lynching of Leo Frank by a Georgia mob near the grave of the girl he was convicted of violating and murdering provides a tapestry in which the thread of anti-Semitism wove a dominant pattern. As Samuel Insull, the symbol of finance capitalism in the 1920s, stood before twelve jurors on a charge of deliberate fraud, the boom-and-bust cycle was a co-defendant in the dock. Although Mr. Busch does not attempt to document completely the sociological or political impact of these trials, he portrays the broader setting both accurately and vividly. Certainly, no one will emerge from the cases with a feeling of having read a dry court record or a shallow Sunday supplement piece.

After reading these books, one is inclined to sit back and agree with Mr. Busch that:

> Today, after eight centuries of testing and despite occasional miscarriage of justice, [the jury] remains the most perfect instrument yet devised for the protection of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and property.

The verdict of twelve jurors will ordinarily reflect, of course, no more than the maturity of the community at large, and this concept is part of our "cross-sectional" analysis of the jury function. In this sense, one may view the intensity of present anti-subversive sentiment as a qualitatively new phenomenon from the community hostility created in any particular case, as was true in most of the Busch examples. The only alternative to jury verdicts would seem to be judge determinations, however, and our experience with trial court judges suggests that in the long run, democracy will be better served by a jury drawn from the community.

Aside from the value of these books to the person interested in the role of juries in criminal law trials, Mr. Busch's volumes will be a delightful treat to the lawyer, the detective fan, and the average subway rider. Eight dramatic novelettes await the reader, and anyone able to put down a case before reaching the last paragraph has more will power than I was able to muster.

ALAN FURMAN WESTIN

FOR THE HAPPY FEW

LAMIEL, by Stendhal. Translated by T. W. Earp (New Directions; $2).

WHEN STENDHAL set to work on *Lamiel* he was 56 years old and serving as French consul in the Italian city of Civita Vecchia, where he was terribly bored, under suspicion and deprived of the contacts with women and brilliant men which the writer in him required just as much as the lover, the gallant and the witty conversationalist. He worked at this novel intermittently in the five years of life remaining to him, and left it unfinished. It is a composition undertaken to ward off tedium (by a man who had lost his youth and much of his charm, and had grown wheezy and so corpulent he had trouble handling his dishes at the table), but it does not read like one. There are only a few clues to the state of his last years, but these, far from suggesting a decline of his power, give *Lamiel* a bite of rancor which even the greater novels, *The Red and the Black* and *The Charterhouse of Parma* do not equal. But it is not fair, and I'm not sure whether it's meaningful, to compare a rough and uncompleted work with masterpieces; and since a strictly literary examination would seem to be ruled out by the nature of the case, I should prefer to treat *Lamiel* as an example of "Beylisme," the unsystematic system with which, under his own guidance, everything essentially Stendhalian has been identified.

The most striking thing about Stendhal is his audacity. He affords us one of the few examples in literature of a mentality genuinely liberal but in no way devoid of the daring and willingness to face extremes, the current lack of which Lionel Trilling has so strongly deplored in his criticism of the "liberal imagination." It is on this quality more than anything else that he won his bet, made with himself in 1836, that he would be read 100 years later. And the most audacious feature of *Lamiel* is not the criticism which he directs at his period—he thought of calling the novel *The French under King Philippe*—but the stand he takes up with respect to his own principles. His is the one literary ego without a blind spot — Stendhal is thoroughly on to himself, and never deviates from this painful self-knowledge as, say, Goethe did, stuffily condoning his lapses into statesmanship and other brassy attractions by which great men are drawn. The whole 19th century is replete with such foolishness; Flaubert was not free of it, and Dostoevsky, James, Tolstoy, all had it—there is hardly a name that must be left off the list. The delusion from which most great writers suffered until our own time, in which Thomas Mann alone has refused to abandon it, was the belief that their statements of principle, whether on art or politics, could slow down the universal descent into philistinsim; and they bravely held to the role of the artist's traditional responsibility toward culture in spite of everything society did to knock its props out from under their feet. Stendhal experienced the degradation of culture in his own day and saw more of it coming, but unlike his peers he did not imagine that his raised voice could call a halt. "Writers," he declared, "are the hussars of liberty;" but the most he expected of the skirmish was to be spared for the delectation of the "happy few." Therefore his liberalism is utterly without canard,

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and in his supreme act of egotism, which is his disavowal of egotism, he gives up all delusion, even about himself, not to be duped. Intelligence is the highest virtue.

Out of this complex attitude he derived the structure of *Lamiel,* as he did of all his work. In the story, which was to trace the rise to notoriety of the young orphan girl after whom the novel is named, the criticism of society is given to two characters: Lamiel, and her mentor and would-be seducer, the fat, aging hunchbacked Doctor Sansfin. Lamiel's career is itself an act of criticism—she discovers that the bourgeois virtues on which she is raised are lies, and under Sansfin's influence, takes over her own moral education. She buys a lover, paying a peasant ten francs to initiate her (and responds with the immemorial "Isn't there anything else?") goes on to seduce the ineffectual Duke de Moissens, whose mother dominates the Normandy village in which Lamiel lives, gets the Duke to marry her, abandons him with a good deal of his money in her possession, and accomplishes the next stage in her climb by forming a liaison with a dissolute Marquis—at which point the novel breaks off. Lamiel thrives on the puncturing of hypocrisies, in which good work she is the protegée of Sansfin, who supervised her education with the object of making her his mistress, but lost her when she learned her lessons too well. Both Lamiel and Sansfin are rogues. Stendhal does not entrust the criticism of society to the virtuous.

Nor does this exhaust the elaborate precautions Stendhal takes in insuring his liberal sentiments against foolishness, blindness, pomposity, hypocrisy and unprotected egotism. The figures of Lamiel and Sansfin develop in a further complication: before they can be accredited as the disguised representatives of his own ego, they must be purged of every possible weakness and inanity by being made to endure the animus of his own self-hatred. Otherwise Stendhal may simply be plying himself, or merely projecting his egotism in a flattering image. Off comes Sansfin's skin. He is a caricature of Stendahl himself in his last years, an unsuccessful seducer, ugly and aging, his hump standing for the author's abdomen, and his very name, "Endless," a reference to Stendhal's own endless chase after the pleasures of love. He is introduced in a merciless scene: out horseback riding, Sansfin is insulted by the village washerwomen, and in the course of defending his honor, he loses his mount and falls "plump into the sludge, head first." Stendhal will prevent his humiliation in the eyes of the world, by drawing his own blood first.

That the figure of Lamiel also amounts to a self-flagellation for Stendhal is not so apparent: she is an attractive, amiable girl, and the excellent qualities with which he endowed her, reminiscent of his own mistresses, testify to his generosity. Yet she is also a hateful object to him. She is precisely the sort of demi-mondaine, pitiless and beautiful, at whose hands Stendhal suffered terribly all his life, drawn by the masochist's infallible instinct; the sort of woman who followed Dr. Sansfin's prescription for curing a lover of the complacency of conquest ("The remedy," he tells Lamiel while chipping away the proprieties that insulate her from sexuality, "is simple and amusing: one should always plunge into despair the man who has served one's pleasure") and whose "first sentiment on being confronted with a virtue was to believe it a hypocrisy" (this, from the writer whose greatest joy and longing, all his life, was a passionate, all consuming love!).

He celebrates Lamiel, applauds her career, but there is bitterness in his generosity, and he never lets himself forget what her kind has cost him. He remains in awe of her, and it is this which gives the final reality to the characterization.

All this complex derivation of structure and character represents, I should say, Stendhal's ultimate audacity—his daring not only in, but *toward,* his principles. Whatever his motives may have been by way of *taking out* his own sufferings on the world and his characters, he was determined not to be *taken in.* Sansfin tells Lamiel:

The world is not divided, as ninnies think, into rich and poor, the virtuous and the evil, but simply into dupes and rogues; that is the key to the 19th century since Napoleon's fall.

Above all, not to be a dupe! To be remorseless, not only to one's enemies, but to one's loves, ultimately, to oneself; never to spare the clearest, hardest and most brilliant intelligence. It was for reasons such as these that Nietzsche acknowledged him, together with Dostoevsky, as his master in psychology, and the happy few for whom he wrote, in large part, owe their very existence (and survival) to him. ISAAC ROSENFELD

TESTS OF CHARITY

HEAVEN AND EARTH, by Carlo Coccioli (Prentice-Hall; $3.50).

DON ARDITO PICCARDO, the priest-hero of this Italian novel, is a man described by his seminary superior as nearly impossible to love. The reader may find him so too, although his creator has scarcely suggested Don Ardito's isolation before he surrounds him with friends, admirers and confidants, most of whom keep assuring him directly or indirectly that he is altogether extraordinary, probably a saint—a condition that would naturally add to the difficulties of attaining that distinction.

Although the books are quite dissimilar, the figure of this priest recalls in some ways that of the curé in Bernanos' *Under the Star of Satan.* Don Ardito is, however, far less convincing and less moving.

The accoutrements of sainthood suit Georges Bernanos' Father Donissan better than they do this egocentric young man, over whom they seem draped without much regard for fit. Both priests are presented as motivated by an unusually strong awareness of the living presence of Satan, and an implacable enmity toward him. The priest in the French novel retains this, as an aspect of his love of God and man, until his tired quiet death in the confessional, But the hero of *Heaven and Earth* eventually arrives at a mish-mash of love for everything, including evil. On this note he goes to a somewhat puzzling

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martyrdom, executed at his own insistence by the local German commandant, who knows him to be innocent, in place of some young Italian guerrillas with whom he is being held.

Don Ardito himself describes this action as an attempt to perform an act of love—his last attempt after some striking failures. Sent as a young priest to a wretched mountain village, in accordance with his wishes, he is at first effective in the rigidity and passionate purity of his own life and the Christianty he preaches to the surprised and resentful townspeople. The crucial test of his charity comes, however, in the person of a young homosexual who has arrived to live with an uncle in one of the decaying great houses nearby. Bored, lonely, tortured by guilt and fear and a frustrated passion for the gardener's son, the boy Alberto has an urgent need to know, on authority, that such a person as himself has value in the eyes of God and that such a life as his has meaning. Don Ardito fails to meet his need for hope and illumination, and in despair he commits suicide. This jarring event occurs at the moment of the priest's triumph in the hostile village, the miraculous healing of a child, and effectively blasts the pride he is tempted to feel in the latter occurrence.

Haunted by the memory of Alberto, and the knowledge of his own failure, Don Ardito renounces severity and takes up a new role as chaplain to a club of wealthy young people in a large city. Here, as he tries to overcome evil not by law but by knowledge, he becomes a sensationally successful author and speaker. But when another desperate young person, a girl, seeks him out for guidance, the slackness of his approach to the evil that besets her has results in her life almost as disastrous as his sternness had in Alberto's. Instead of learning from this, at last, how consistent is love of God with love of man, he returns to Chiarotorre, the village of his early pastorate, with no will to discriminate further between objects of love. There he wishes to let the pattern of his life work itself out, as it does. Eventually, he awaits his execution in the room which had been Alberto's, and with him, among the guerrillas whose lives he is saving, are the child he once healed and the gardener's son. They treat him rudely to the end, believing he has betrayed them.

Any attempt to write about a saint must require of the author that he have strong ideas about what constitutes real sanctity, since in the domain of virtue there can be much subtle glitter without much gold. Carlo Coccioli has his ideas and some of them are in fact pretty soft, although they read well. The saint's death has the demerit of being sought by himself, and of involving, to all appearances, a misrepresentation of himself as guilty. It is an act of heroism, or possibly an act of self-punishment, but there is some impropriety in presenting it as martyrdom.

Coccioli's book, and everyone in it, is very Italian. It has about it even a somewhat operatic quality. The translation is good, for there is no attempt to disguise or discard the language in which the book was written. Its form, that of data accumulated by a friend after the priest's death, has the virtue of making known the personal impact of Don Ardito on several different people. Although such an account is necessarily somewhat fragmentary, on the whole this device works well enough to make the one section of straight narrative rather intrusive. *Heaven and Earth is* an interesting novel, and deserves the attention it has had, if not, to my mind, quite all the praise. It represents a serious attempt to capture something perfectly real; it simply does not do so in the end.

S. M. FITZGERALD

BOOKS IN BRIEF

CHINA, JAPAN AND THE POWERS, by Meribeth E. Cameron, Thomas H. D. Mahoney, George E. McReynolds (Ronald; $6.50).

The argument for greater American knowledge of Asia is not that a tardy enlightenment concerning the rice-eating half of mankind will save us from conflict with them—on the contrary, such understanding has now become essential to our survival in conflict already under way. The expansion of the West into Asia during the last century has left us in our present, exposed positions, sitting alongside a dozen incipient social volcanoes all the way from Japan to Iran.

The story of Western involvement in East Asia—the slow beginnings of trade and evangelism, the rising tempo of imperialist rivalry, the crescendo of war and revolution—is complex, dramatic and often confusing. *China, Japan and the Powers,* a survey of the modern period by three historians, now available as a textbook, will interest the general reader as well as the college student. As always in dealing with Asian events, the problem is to relate them to the peculiar social matrix which produced them. This is still a *tour de force* for Western scholarship, since history in action is still out-stripping the social sciences. Professors Cameron, Mahoney and McReynolds are thus able to narrate rather neatly the turbulent onrush of events in China, Japan and adjacent areas, but do not try to plot them on a grid to show major trends leading into the future—which may be just as well for our peace of mind. However their chapters on China's and Japan's efforts at modernization in response to Western contact, and on the postwar programs of the United States in both those countries, are particularly timely and illuminating. The narrative comes down to the second return of General MacArthur.

JOHN K. FAIRBANK

THE SPIRE, by Gerald Warner Brace (Norton; $3.50).

The Spire is Boy Meets Girl in Amherst-type college town. Boy is Henry Gaunt, English professor in tradition-steeped Wyndham College, a bright, level-headed, though somewhat coltish young widower. Girl is Lizzie Houghton, a once-fallen woman, full of mysterious tensions, repressions, forebodings, and a rather overwhelming nobility of character. Their romance survives Gaunt's appointment as dean, the jungle warfare of campus politics, the town's calumny; in brief, the plot. There is also a wispy sub-plot in which the issue of academic integrity is kicked around.

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The author, an English professor himself, is at his best in his knowledgeable examination of that prestige-created microcosmos, that incessant tempest in a teapot which is faculty life in a small college. When he tries to be meaningful, as in his glorification of fecundity and the old Vermont virtues, he is all too often fatuous. And the romance itself is really mawkish stuff. What I resent most, however, is Mr. Bruce's efforts to give his novel class, so to speak, by erecting upon it a symbolic superstructure which it simply is not equipped to support. This he does with frequent allusions to *The Scarlet Letter,* Lady Macbeth, "American Gothic" and those demonic and death-lusting influences that howl like winter gales through the awful chasms of the New England character. *The Spire,* like the author's greatly over-rated *Garretson Chronicle,* is an odd mixture of perspicacity and hokum. DAVID GOLDKNOPF

THE PORTABLE GIBBON, edited by Dero A. Saunders (Viking; $2.50).

Many things, most of them praiseworthy, this book is, but it is not Gibbon. A primary characteristic of Gibbon is mass, so the expression "portable Gibbon" is a contradiction in terms. The basic fallacy of this project is the notion that there is a necessary relation between mass and volume, which is not true; there are many historians even more voluminous than Gibbon who can be reduced to portable dimensions without altering their essential quality. But Gibbon is massive. He cannot be compressed; he can only be fragmented.

More than that, for generations the vocable "Gibbon" has meant to the literate world more than the individual historian; it has meant the man plus his impact upon human thought, which was more significant than his history. Gibbon without the notes of some of his annotators is truncated; the sputtering indignation of good Dean Milman, for example, is an essential part of the intellectual phenomenon covered by the title *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

This *caveat* must be filed by a conscientious reviewer, or he may foster the delusion that a man who has gone through this volume has read the *Decline and Fall.* He has not. He has merely dipped into it. This volume omits Gibbon's treatment of the Byzantine empire; yet it may be plausibly argued that in view of our bitterly close relations with Russia it is more important, in 1952, to learn something about Byzantium than it is to learn more about Rome; for it is from Byzantium that the civilization of Moscow stems.

However, if this volume is taken as a fragment, not as a summary, it has very considerable merits. As an intellectual *tour de force* it is astonishing and as a contribution to public education it commands admiration if one agrees that to know a little of Gibbon is better than not to know him at all.

It is a debatable point, for a man who has never looked into the greatest history in the English language will not delude himself that he knows it; but the editor hopes that this sample will stimulate an appetite that will drive the reader to the original.

Perhaps it will. In any event, this is certain: tear a number of pages out of any volume of Gibbon, taken at random and you will have good reading, for his rivals as a historian are far more numerous than his rivals as a master of English prose. GERALD W. JOHNSON

THIS MODERN MUSIC, by Gerald W. Abraham (Norton; $2.50).

One of those well-intended guides for the perplexed, this book first appeared some twenty years ago, and is offered now in a revision which is meant to bring it up to date. Actually, its evaluation of really new work is too slight to merit much consideration by anyone who is interested in *le dernier cri.* Though written in a coy, patronizing style that is doubtless meant to disarm the antagonistic layman, it contains so much technical jargon that I suspect it would dazzle and confuse anyone who was not fairly literate musically. Within its limitations, however, it seems to be accurate and reliable. R.E.

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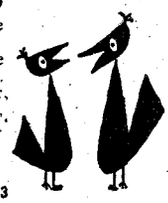

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